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In an effort to determine to what extent ethnic groups are associated with differences in adolescents' projected frames of status reference, data were collected from Negro, Mexican American, and Anglo youth residing in rural areas of Texas. Occupational and educational status projections were compared to determine levels of aspiration and expectation, anticipatory goal deflection (the divergence between desired and expected status objects), intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation. It was found that the 3 ethnic groups studied were similar except in reference to status expectations and intensity of aspiration. Negro youth maintained higher levels of expectation, and Mexican American youth maintained stronger intensity of aspiration. Mexican American youth were least certain of obtaining their expectations; Negro youth held higher educational goals; while Anglo youth manifested the least anticipatory deflection. (DA)

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# STATUS PROJECTIONS AND ETHNICITY: A COMPARISON OF MEXICAN AMERICAN, NEGRO, AND ANGLO YOUTH*

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## Abstract

The general purpose of our paper was to determine to what extent ethnic "subcultures" are associated with differences in adolescents' projected frames of status reference. Utilizing data obtained from Negro, Mexican American, and Anglo youth residing in nonmetropolitan areas of Texas, we made ethnic comparisons, by sex, on several dimensions of occupational and educational status projections: levels of aspiration and expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation. Our findings indicated that the three ethnic groups were generally similar, except in reference to status expectations and intensity of aspiration: Negro youth maintained higher level expectations and Mexican American youth maintained stronger intensity of aspiration. Several other consistent but less substantial patterns of ethnic variability were noted: Mexican American youth felt least certain of attaining their expectations, Negro youth held higher educational goals, and Anglo youth experienced the least anticipatory deflection. Implications were drawn for theory and future research.

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## THE PROBLEM

One of Max Weber's most important legacies to sociology was the development of a multi-faceted theory of determinants of social honor, or as it is more commonly called today, social rank (Gerth and Mills, 1958:180-195). His conceptual distinction between rank evolving from class (economic) position and status groups (ethnicity) is still viable. In our society two of the major determinants of social rank are economic class and ethnic identity.[1] According to Shibutani and Kwan (1965:35), "the underprivileged in a system of ethnic stratification are usually referred to as minority groups." In those areas where ethnic stratification is institutionalized, membership in an ethnic minority group tends to severely restrict vertical social mobility.[2] In the stratification systems operative in Texas there are two large well-institutionalized ethnic minority groups--Negro in the eastern counties and Mexican American in the south and southwestern region of the state.[3] What is more, there is ample statistical evidence to indicate that there is a very high correlation between membership in these two ethnic minority groups and placement in low levels of socioeconomic status (Upham and Lever, 1966; Upham and Wright, 1966).

It seems reasonable to assert that an awareness of limitations or impediments to vertical mobility would influence minority youth's perception of their future prospects for social attainment, causing them to set lower level goals than their counterparts in the middle-class mainstream of our society. Hyman Rodman (1963), restructuring evidence from early youth aspiration studies, asserts as much in the development of his thesis on the "lower-class value stretch". Also J. Milton Yinger (1960) in an earlier article, utilizing much the

same evidence, indicates that, "Because tensions set in motion by this blockage cannot be resolved by achievement of dominant values, such values are repressed, their importance denied, counter-values affirmed." This condition he labels a "contraculture" and specifically refers to the Southern Negro as a case in point. Others arguing significant subcultural differences have maintained that lower-class youth lack ambition or have low aspirations.[4] On the other hand, Merton (1957:131-139 and 161-170) and others have proposed that maintenance of a high valuation on success and high level success goals are widely shared phenomena that cut widely across all segments of our society.[5]

It is our purpose to attempt to clarify some of these apparent theoretical or conceptual contradictions through a tri-ethnic--Negro, Mexican American, and Anglo--comparison of adolescents' occupational and educational status projections, utilizing data from a recent study of Texas rural youth.

## FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

### Conceptual Scheme

Some time ago Merton proposed that young people maintain a "frame of aspirational reference" composed of personal goals for status attainment as adults ( Merton, 1957:132-133). This mental configuration provides them with a cognitive map that serves to guide anticipatory socialization into adult roles. Ralph Turner (1964) has presented firm documentation for this assertion in a recent book.

Merton conceived of only one frame of status projections, that involving aspirations (desires). However, Stephenson (1957), among others, has demonstrated the utility of thinking in terms of two types of projections: in addition to

aspirations, youth maintain a set of expectations (anticipations) which often differs from their desires. A conceptual scheme recently presented by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), begins with this analytical distinction between aspiration and expectation and provides additional distinctions. The divergence, if any, between the desired and anticipated status objects within a particular area of potential status attainment (i.e., education) is labeled "anticipatory goal deflection". (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968) While most past research has focused on projected status attainments, Kuvlesky and Bealer call attention to another analytical dimension of status projections which they call the "orientation element". This idea refers to the strength of orientation a person maintains toward the status object involved in either aspirations or expectations. In reference to aspiration this would be the strength of desire associated with obtaining the status goal specified and is referred to as "intensity of aspiration".[6] The comparable element involved in expectation is labeled "certainty of expectation". This scheme has been reported in detail in a number of publications and papers, along with empirical evidence supporting the utility of the analytical distinctions involved (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968; Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968; Wright and Kuvlesky, 1968). Our analysis of ethnic comparisons was structured in terms of the elements of status projections differentiated in the scheme described above.

## Research Objectives

Our broad research objective was to determine whether or not the three ethnic groups under examination--Negro, Mexican American, and Anglo--differed in their projected frames of status reference. More specifically, we attempted to determine how ethnic identity was related to the following dimensions of

occupational and educational status projections: level of aspiration, level of expectation, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation.

While the explicit purpose of the analysis to be described here was empirical description--it did not evolve as a test of theory--the comparison of the two ethnic minorities (Negro and Mexican American) with the dominant ethnic group (Anglo) on the five elements of status projection, included in the conceptual scheme described above, should provide a basis for some fruitful ex post facto theoretical interpretation. Not only can the findings provide a further test for Merton's proposition regarding widely shared high success goals, those pertaining to expectation and anticipatory goal deflection should also be relevant to evaluate Stephenson's (1957) hypothesis that expectations are more variable than aspirations by social class.[7] Also the findings on intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation should have a bearing on Rodman's (1963:209) assertion that the "major lower-class value change", represented by the lower-class value stretch, "is a stretched value system with a low degree of commitment to all the values within the range, including the dominant middle class values."

## Review of Past Research

Except for our own past reports, little research has been reported on status projections of Mexican American youth (Wright and Kuvlesky, 1968; Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968). However, considerable research has accumulated on Negro-White differences on occupational and educational aspiration and expectation levels. Reports of these findings, while demonstrating some inconsistencies, generally show that White youth have higher occupational

projections (Ameen, 1967) and that Negro youth maintain higher educational levels (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968). Only one study we are aware of included a tri-ethnic comparison involving adolescent status projections: a 1958 study by Antonovsky (1967) which included Negro, White, and Puerto Rican youth residing in a "northern metropolis". His findings on the lower class segments of his study populations indicated little difference by ethnicity on levels of either occupational or educational aspirations and expectations: a majority of all three ethnic groups maintained high goals and, in reference to occupation, markedly fewer of all three groups held high level expectations.[8]

As far as we know, no report exists presenting findings on a similar tri-ethnic comparison including Mexican American youth. In addition, few studies of any kind report information pertaining to ethnic comparisons on anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration, or certainty of expectation.[9] Obviously then, from a purely empirical-descriptive perspective, this report should contribute in making a start toward filling this void in our accumulated knowledge about status projections of youth.

## METHODS AND PROCEDURES

### Source and Collection of Data

Data for this analysis were obtained from high school sophomores attending school in two widely separated study areas that were purposively selected to be homogeneous on three criteria: (1) a proportionately high rate of ethnic minority members--either Negro or Mexican American; (2) a proportionately high rate of poverty; and, (3) predominantly rural populations located in nonmetropolitan areas, Table 1. During the Spring of 1966 we

Table 1. Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions in the South Texas and East Central Texas Study Areas Compared with Texas and the United States.

| Place | Total Population (Thousands) | Anglo (Percent) | Mexican Americans (Percent) | Low-Income Families[a] (Percent) | Median Family Income | Median School Yrs. Comp.[b] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. South Texas | | | | | | |
| Dimmit | 10 | * | 67 | 60 | $2,480 | 5 |
| Maverick | 15 | * | 78 | 58 | 2,523 | 6 |
| Starr | 17 | * | 89 | 71 | 1,700 | 5 |
| Zapata | 4 | * | 75 | 66 | 1,766 | 5 |
| B. East Texas | | | | | | |
| Burleson | 11 | 62 | ** | 59 | 2,451 | 8 |
| Leon | 10 | 61 | ** | 67 | 1,946 | 9 |
| San Jacinto | 6 | 47 | ** | 69 | 1,737 | 7 |
| Texas | 9,580 | 73 | 14 | 29 | 4,884 | 10 |
| United States | 179,323 | 87 | 2 | 21 | 5,657 | 11 |

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary and Part 45, Texas (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964) and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B.

[a]Annual family incomes below $3,000.

[b]By persons 25 years old and over.

*Almost all individuals not classified as Mexican American would be classified Anglo.

**Percent Mexican American is less than one-tenth of one percent. Most individuals not classified as Anglo would be classified as Negro.

interviewed Negro and Anglo youth enrolled in 23 public high schools located in the three East Texas counties and during the spring of 1967 we interviewed Mexican American youth enrolled in 7 high schools located in four south and southwest counties either bordering on or in close proximity to the Rio Grande River--a small number of Anglo respondents were also interviewed in these counties but were not included in this analysis. Only those students who were present on the day of the interview were included in the study, and no attempt was made to contact students who were absent. Usable data was available for analysis on 596 Mexican American, 197 Negro, and 287 Anglo high school sophomores.

Questionnaires taking from 35 to 90 minutes to complete were group administered by trained graduate students. Particular care was taken to see that the pace of administration was suited to the ability of the particular group of students being interviewed. The respondents were guaranteed that their responses would be kept confidential.

Considerable variation in the size of the sophomore class existed among the 30 schools involved: the range was from 5 to 261 students. Only one of the high schools involved was experiencing complete de facto segregation of Mexican American and Anglo students; but, only one school had experienced more than "token" integration of Negro students. Among these schools, there was a wide range of programs of study; most had one general curriculum to offer, while only one school offered a relatively complete array of programs.

## Background of Respondents

An analysis of information on the respondents' background characteristics obtained from their responses colloborates the county level data indicating

that all three ethnic groupings are generally from deprived circumstances: detailed tabular presentations of this data are placed in Appendix A. However, some marked ethnic differences were noted as follows:

1. Almost three-fourths of the Negro youth came from homes where the main breadwinner was either unemployed or employed as a low skilled worker, as compared with about half the Mexican American youth and only a quarter of the Angloes.
2. Many more of the Negro and Mexican American youths' parents failed to complete high school, as compared with the Anglo youth.
3. Substantially more of the Negro youth were in families lacking a parent and having a "working" mother.

In summary, the Negro youth are the most disadvantaged and, in terms of normal SES indicators, the Anglo youth are considerably better off than either ethnic minority.

## Indicators and Measurements

Only a brief description of the indicators and measurements used in reference to the five dimensions of occupational orientation involved in our analysis will be provided here. The stimulus questions used are presented in Appendix B.

### Levels of Aspiration and Expectation

Two similarly worded open-end questions were used to elicit responses that would serve as indicators of occupational goals and expectations: the aspiration stimulus elicited the job the respondent would "desire most" as compared with the job he would "really expect" in the case of expectation. The responses to both of these questions were originally coded into 9 categories based on a modification of the usual census scheme--frequency distributions of the respondents over these original categories are presented in Appendix B. In order to simplify our analysis in terms of status levels, these original measurements were collapsed into three broader level categories as follows:[10]

(1) High - "high" and "low professional" and "glamour"
(2) Intermediate - "managerial","clerical and sales", and "skilled"
(3) Low - "operatives", "unskilled", and "housewife"

The stimulus questions used to obtain responses indicating educational aspirations and expectations were similar to those described above in reference to critical word elements distinguishing between the two types of projections--"desired" and "really expect". However, these questions were forced choice in nature--providing six alternatives ranging from "quit school right now" to "complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university": tabular presentation of the distribution of the respondents over these original categories are provided in Appendix B. Again, the original measurement categories were collapsed into three more inclusive level categories as follows:[11]

(1) High - college graduation or more
(2) Intermediate - more than high school graduation but less than college graduation
(3) Low - terminate at graduation from high school or less

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Anticipatory deflection was determined by simply comparing the original measures of goal and expected status for each respondent. If these were incongruent, anticipatory deflection was considered to exist. A further distinction was made on the basis of the nature of deflection: positive deflection was judged to exist if expectation had a higher rank than goal and negative deflection was assumed to exist if aspiration had the high rank order.[12] The rank measures utilized in determining anticipatory deflection are indicated in the tables included in Appendix B.

Intensity of Aspiration

The degree of desire held for occupational and educational goals was ascertained through a question that instructed the respondent to rank order

the importance of attainment of seven status goals, including his occupational and educational goal. The relative importance assigned to each goal is considered an indication of the measure of the relative intensity of desire for it. This forced-response type of instrument produced a range in scores from one to seven: the lower the score, the stronger the intensity of desire was judged to be for the occupational goal. For purposes of analysis these scores were grouped into three levels of intensity as follows: Strong (1-2); Intermediate (3-5); and Weak (6-7).

Certainty of Expectation

The degree of certainty associated with the respondent's expected attainments was ascertained through a forced-choice stimulus question instructing the respondent to select from five alternatives indicating how certain he felt about attaining his expectations: Very certain, Certain, Not very certain, Uncertain, and Very uncertain.

Other Variables

Stimulus questions used to provide indicators for sex and ethnicity are presented in Appendix B and are self explanatory.

## Analysis

Comparisons of the three ethnic groups, by sex,[13] were made for occupational and educational status projections on each of the five variables as operationally defined above: level of aspiration, level of expectation, anticipatory deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation. Chi square tests were utilized to determine the statistical significance of any differences observed. Because of the complexity of the analysis--twenty ethnic comparisons were involved--summary tables are utilized to present the findings. The detailed tabular presentations of data utilized in the analysis and results of chi square tests are presented in Appendix C.

# FINDINGS

## Overview of Ethnic Differences (Table 2)

Results of chi square evaluations on the twenty ethnic comparisons involved in our analysis indicate that only five did not result in differences having statistical significance at the .05 level of probability--three of the five were judged to be significant at the .10 level. Consequently, it is obvious that differences generally existed among the three ethnic groups being considered. Of course, this does not mean that the differences observed were meaningful or significant in a sociological sense. Quite to the contrary, our judgments, as summarized in Table 2 under the column labeled "Magnitude", indicate that differences among the three ethnic groupings were substantial in only six of the twenty comparative evaluations made. In all other cases, it was our judgment that the similarity of the ethnic groups was more significant than the variations existing among them.

It is quite significant that five of the six comparisons judged to demonstrate marked ethnic differences occur in reference to only two elements of status projections: three involve level of expectation and two involve intensity of occupational aspiration. The remaining comparison demonstrating substantial ethnic variation was the certainty of occupational expectation demonstrated by females.

As can be seen from our shorthand description of the nature of differences observed , contained in Table 2 under the column labeled "Nature", the comparisons demonstrating marked ethnic differences were definitely patterned. In reference to expectations, Negroes had substantially higher

Table 2. Summary Table of Ethnic Differences on Elements of Occupational and Educational Status Projections.

| Status Projection Elements | Ethnic Differences Described | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Males | | | Females | | |
| | P[1] | Nature[2] | Magnitude[3] | P[1] | Nature[2] | Magnitude[3] |
| A. Aspiration Levels | | | | | | |
| Occupation | .001 | MA,A > N | Slight | .70 | None | None |
| Education | .05 | N > MA,A | Slight | .001 | N > MA,A | Moderate |
| B. Expectation Levels | | | | | | |
| Occupation | .02 | Similar | Similar | .001 | N > MA,A | Marked |
| Education | .001 | N>A>MA | Marked | .001 | N>A>MA | Marked |
| C. Anticipatory Deflection | | | | | | |
| Occupation | .30 | None | None | .10 | MA,A > N | Slight |
| Education | .05 | MA>N>A | Slight | .001 | MA,N > A | Slight |
| D. Intensity of Aspiration | | | | | | |
| Occupation | .001 | MA>A>N | Marked | .001 | MA > N,A | Marked |
| Education | .01 | MA,N > A | Slight | .10 | MA > N,A | Slight |
| E. Certainty of Expectation | | | | | | |
| Occupation | .001 | A,N > MA | Slight | .001 | A,N > MA | Marked |
| Education | .10 | A,N > MA | Slight | .001 | A,N > MA | Slight |

[1]Probability of significance based on Chi square tests presented in Appendix B.

[2]Letter symbols identify ethnic group: MA=Mexican American; A=Anglo; N=Negro.

[3]Our judgement of the magnitude of differences existing among the three ethnic groupings.

level expectations than the other two groups in all three cases demonstrating marked differences. In reference to intensity of occupational aspiration, both for males and females, the marked variation is due largely to the fact that Mexican American youth maintained a much stronger intensity of desire for their goals than the other two groupings.

Another pattern involving the cases demonstrating substantial ethnic variation is observable: female comparisons account for four of the six instances of marked variation and the only one judged to display "moderate" ethnic variation.

In summary the overview demonstrates that three ethnic groups were generally similar in reference to aspiration levels, anticipatory deflection, certainty of expectation, and intensity of educational aspiration. On the other hand, substantial ethnic differences tended to occur in reference to level of expectation and for intensity of desire for occupational goals. These differences were due largely to Negroes maintaining higher expectation levels and Mexican Americans having a stronger intensity of desire for job goals. Females accounted for most of the marked ethnic variability.

We shall now turn to a brief examination of ethnic differences observed in reference to each of the five status projection elements under consideration. Because of the number of detailed tabular presentations involved in our original analysis, the remainder of this section will consist of rather brief summaries of major findings. Tabular presentations of the detailed analyses are included in Appendix C.

## Ethnicity and Status Projection Elements

### Aspiration Levels (Table 3)

The occupational and educational aspirations of all three ethnic groups were generally high: a majority of all six ethnic-sex groupings held high occupational and educational goals, with the exception of Anglo females in reference to education. Generally, small proportions of any of the ethnic-sex groupings held low level job or educational goals. However, a substantial number (25%) of the Negro males held low occupational goals and in this respect differed from all other groupings. Also, Mexican American boys and girls more frequently held low educational goals than the other ethnic groups: about one-fifth of the Mexican American youth maintained low level educational goals.

Several observations pertaining to more specific levels of educational aspirations are worthy of note (see Appendix C, Table 3). Very few youth of any ethnic type desired to drop out of high school, and vast majorities (80 percent or more) desired post high school training. Surprisingly large numbers desired post high school vocational training, ranging up to almost one half of the Negro and Anglo girls.

### Expectation Levels (Table 4)

A comparison of the proportion of ethnic types having high goals and high expectations (compare Tables 3 and 4) clearly indicates that the respondents maintained high expectations markedly less than high aspirations.

Negroes appeared to differ markedly from the other two ethnic types in their expectations, particularly in reference to education. Markedly more Negroes (a near majority in most cases) held high level expectations.

Table 3. Summary Comparison of Proportions of Three Ethnic Groups Having "High" and "Low" Goals.

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| High Goals | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 54 | 51 | 49 | 60 | 53 | 60 |
| Education | 53 | 59 | 64 | 51 | 38 | 48 |
| Low Goals | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 9 | 8 | 25 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| Education | 19 | 14 | 6 | 21 | 7 | 3 |

Table 4. Summary Comparison of Proportions of Three Ethnic Groups Having "High" and "Low" Expectations.

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| High Expectations | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 40 | 38 | 47 | 36 | 36 | 49 |
| Education | 39 | 43 | 63 | 37 | 29 | 46 |
| Low Expectations | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 13 | 15 | 29 | 14 | 30 | 9 |
| Education | 31 | 19 | 7 | 32 | 13 | 9 |

In reference to proportions expecting low level attainment, markedly more of all groups were classified in the low status level as compared with what was observed in reference to aspirations (compare Tables 3 and 4). About 30 percent of the Negro males and Anglo females anticipated low level occupational attainments. About the same proportion of Mexican American boys and girls anticipated low level educational attainment and, in this respect, were clearly different from the others.

The more detailed analysis of specific educational expectations indicates that very few of any ethnic type anticipated leaving high school before graduation and that marked majorities of all groups--but less Mexican Americans than others--anticipate post high school training of some kind (see Appendix C, Table 4).

Anticipatory Goal Deflection (Table 5)

The concept anticipatory goal deflection represents the difference observed, if any, between the individual's desired and anticipated status attainments. Our findings indicate that most youth, regardless of ethnicity, did not experience anticipatory deflection from their occupational and educational goals. Another similarity observed was that when anticipatory goal deflection did occur, it was predominantly negative. Oddly, Anglo females experienced both the highest rate of anticipatory goal deflection (41% deflected from occupational goals) and the lowest (23% were deflected from educational goals). Obviously, the remainder of the ethnic-sex groupings experienced anticipatory deflection from occupational and educational goals between these two extreme rates.

Although the similarity of the ethnic groupings relative to anticipatory deflection appears to be of more importance than differences, three patterns of ethnic differences were observed: (1) The Anglos generally experienced less anticipatory goal deflection than the other two ethnic groups; (2) Negroes tended to experience significantly more positive goal deflection; (3) Mexican American youth generally demonstrated more negative deflection.

Intensity of Aspiration (Table 6)

The three ethnic groupings differed very little in reference to the strength of desire they indicated for their educational goals: a very large majority of all groupings had strong attachments to their desired education. Nevertheless, the little variation that existed supported the rather dramatic ethnic difference observed relative to intensity of desire for job goals. The Mexican American youth indicated a markedly stronger desire for their occupational goals and a somewhat stronger desire for their educational goals than the other two ethnic groupings. In addition, Negro males stood out among all six ethnic-sex groupings for a lack of strong attachment to their occupational goals.

A similarity cutting across all ethnic-sex groupings was the fact that the respondents maintained a much stronger attachment to educational goals than to occupational goals.

Certainty of Expectation (Table 6)

The Negro and Anglo youth were very similar in proportions feeling certain about their expectations: about half of both groups held high levels of certainty for their occupational goals, and about two-thirds of each group maintained similar orientations toward their educational anticipations.

Table 5. Summary Comparison of Proportions of Three Ethnic Groups Experiencing Anticipatory Deflection From Occupational and Educational Goals.

| Nature of Deflection From Goal | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Positive | | | | | | |
| Occupational | 9 | 8 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 7 |
| Educational | 9 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 17 |
| Negative | | | | | | |
| Occupational | 29 | 21 | 19 | 32 | 37 | 20 |
| Educational | 31 | 23 | 24 | 32 | 22 | 25 |
| Total Deflected | | | | | | |
| Occupational | 38 | 29 | 33 | 38 | 41 | 27 |
| Educational | 40 | 27 | 35 | 37 | 23 | 42 |

Table 6. Summary Comparison of Proportions of Three Ethnic Groups Having High Intensity Aspirations and Indicating Certainty About Expectations.

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Strong Aspirations | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 69 | 56 | 34 | 72 | 45 | 46 |
| Education | 85 | 69 | 80 | 89 | 81 | 79 |
| Certain Expectations | | | | | | |
| Occupation | 36 | 48 | 44 | 32 | 52 | 56 |
| Education | 49 | 62 | 64 | 50 | 63 | 67 |

In every case, Mexican American boys and girls were less certain about attaining their occupational and educational expectations than the other two ethnic groupings: only about one-third of Mexican American youth felt certain in attaining the occupational attainment they specified, and approximately half felt certain toward attainment of their educational expectations.

One similarity observed among the ethnic groups was that for every ethnic-sex grouping, there was greater degree of certainty toward educational expectations than there was toward occupational expectations. Also, it is important to note that although most of the ethnic-sex groupings maintain strong intensities of aspiration in reference to both occupation and education, markedly fewer felt certain about attaining their expected jobs and educational levels, even though status levels indicated for expectation were generally lower than those indicated for goals.

## Summary of Findings

Except for occupational and educational expectations and intensity of job aspirations, the three ethnic types of youth were judged similar in their frames of projected reference (See Table 2). Our conclusion regarding the general ethnic similarities and differences of import which evolved from our findings are presented in outline form below.

### Ethnic Similarities

Important similarities existed among the three ethnic groups in reference to each of the five status elements involved in our analysis:

(1) Aspiration and Expectation Levels: A majority of youth held high level goals and small, but substantial, proportions indicated low level goals. Expectations were lower than aspiration levels. Few youth either desired or expected to quit school and a large majority both desired and anticipated post high school education of some kind.

(2) Anticipatory Goal Deflection: Substantial minorities (ranging from 23% to 41%) of all ethnic-sex groupings indicated anticipatory goal deflection--most of the deflection was negative.

(3) Intensity of Aspiration: A large majority of all youth maintained a strong identification with their educational goals. Their intensity of aspiration for educational goals was consistently stronger than that indicated for their occupational goals.

(4) Certainty of Expectation: Youth felt substantially more certain about attaining their expected educational levels than their expected jobs.

Ethnic Differences

While ethnic differences more often occurred among girls than boys, several general patterns of marked differences were observed:

(1) Negroes generally maintained a higher level of expectations than others.

(2) Mexican American youth maintained stronger intensities of desire for their goals than others: markedly higher for occupational goals and only slightly higher for educational goals.

In addition, several other consistent patterns of less substantial but noteworthy differences were also observed:

(1) Mexican Americans more often held low level goals than others.

(2) Negroes maintained higher educational goals than others.

(3) Mexican American youth were less certain of their expectations than others: this difference was marked in reference to girls' anticipated jobs.

(4) Patterns of slight but very consistent differences were observed in reference to anticipatory goal deflection: Anglos experienced less deflection; Negroes experienced the most positive deflection; and, Mexican Americans demonstrated the most negative deflection.

## DISCUSSION

Obviously, we face definite restrictions in attempting to generalize our findings beyond our study populations due to the selective homogeneity (youth from economically deprived areas of rural Texas) of these units. At the same time, by considering our findings in relationship to other relevant studies, we can draw some rather broad empirical generalizations about the relationship of ethnicity to adolescent status projections. Our findings, considered together with those of Antonovsky's (1967) tri-ethnic study of metropolitan youth and Stephenson's (1957) bi-racial comparison, support several broad empirical generalizations pertaining to ethnic similarities in projected frames of reference of youth. All three studies support Merton's proposition that high level success goals are widely diffused throughout the various social strata of our society. In addition, all three studies clearly indicate that expectations of lower class youth are substantially lower than their aspirations (in terms of aggregate comparisons). Unfortunately, the opportunity to draw such broad generalizations about the relationship of ethnicity to anticipatory deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation does not exist due to the lack of other relevant data.[14]

Whatever the limitations of our ability to derive broad generalizations, some of our findings are useful in evaluating the general validity of several broad theoretical propositions. In the first place, the broad generalization that adolescents of all ethnic types (from both rural and metropolitan areas) maintain high occupational and educational goal levels offers strong support for Merton's contention that high level success goals are widely diffused among the various strata of our society. Given this ethnic commonality, at a less

abstract level of analysis, our data indicate some patterned variations among ethnic groups: Negro youth apparently more often hold high educational goals than other youth, and Spanish speaking minorities more often maintain low level goals.[15]

Merton's thesis that youth structure their goals in terms of a hierarchy of importance receives support from our finding that, among our respondents, intensity of aspiration for education was stronger than that associated with occupation (Merton, 1957:171). The fact that the ethnic groups demonstrated similarity in respect to this differential valuation of education and occupation provides a basis for extending Merton's proposition to indicate that this aspect of the projected frame of reference is patterned and cuts across ethnic and class boundaries. This may prove to be a very fruitful hypothesis for future research, for it has been suggested that the intensity aspect of aspiration may be at least as important as the level of aspiration for prediction of future attainments (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966:272).

In the same measure that our findings support Merton, they support the more specific hypothesis of Gordon (1961) that ethnic minorities in our society have become acculturated in terms of the values of the larger society and the related idea of Antonovsky (1967) that Negroes are in the process of dissociating themselves from the negative status of their ethnic identification. What is more, our results would indicate that Mexican American youth are also beginning this process.[16] Our evidence may indicate that Mexican American youth have not progressed in this process of "dissociation" to the same extent as Negroes. Consistent patterns of difference indicate that Mexican American

youth are consistently, although in many cases only slightly, distinguished from the other two ethnic types: Mexican Americans more often hold low level goals, experience a greater frequency of negative anticipatory deflection, and are less certain about attaining their expectations. One possible inference that can be drawn from these data is that a somewhat larger number of Mexican American youth, as compared with Negroes, are willing to conform to their negative status position, relative to Anglos, or that more of them perceive greater restrictions to desired mobility (in accordance with Stephenson's hypothesis).[17] On the other hand, the fact that the Mexican American youth maintained consistently stronger attachments to their goals than the other two groupings does not fit this pattern and is difficult to explain.

Our findings on status expectations would appear to strongly support Stephenson's hypothesis that expectations are more variable than aspirations relative to social class. However, the theoretical rationale for this proposition is that lower class youth perceive less opportunity for attainment of their aspirations than more fortunate youth and, therefore, anticipate lower level of expectation (Stephenson, 1957:211-212). Our results apparently challenge this thesis. Our Negro respondents indicated higher level expectations than either Mexican Americans or Anglo groupings, which were similar in their expectation levels. Considering the fact that Negroes are more disadvantaged relative to SES indicators than either of the other two ethnic groups, it would appear that the difference in expectations that occurred in our data is in direct contradiction to Stephenson's thesis. Furthermore, our findings on anticipatory goal deflection indicate relatively similar rates of goal-expectation divergence for all three ethnic groups. We interpret this to mean that both ethnic minorities experience the same degree of aspiration-expectation incongruity as the dominant Anglo group, which also conflicts with Stephenson.

As far as we know, no empirical evidence has been reported to question Rodman's thesis of the lower class value stretch. Our findings on rural Negro and Mexican American youth from the South and Southwest indicate that they maintain goal profiles similar to the dominant Anglo group. This brings into question the general validity of Rodman's thesis that greater variability exists among the goal specifications of lower class youth as compared with others. His related thesis that the "major lower class value change...is a stretched value system with a low degree of commitment to all the values within the range, including the dominant middle class values" is directly challenged by our findings on intensity of aspiration. Likewise, our findings bring into question Yinger's (1960) proposition pertaining to the development of contra-cultures among lower class groups, particularly his specific proposition that Negro youth in the South would demonstrate a contraculture. It may be that Rodman's and Yinger's related propositions regarding lower class culture may be applicable to only a certain segment of the lower class and not to low status groups generally.

While we have interpreted our evidence to indicate a lack of substantial ethnic differentiation relative to most elements of youth's projected frames of status reference, another interpretation is possible. This relates to the selective homogeneity involved in the selection of the ethnic populations under investigation. In the context of the larger society, particularly the dominant metropolitan areas, all three ethnic groups considered here would be ethnic minorities. This could be one reason for the broad similarities observed despite the obvious differences in status and socioeconomic rank of the three ethnic groups relative to their local communities of residence. It may be

that elements involved in communities of residence--in this case rurality and economic deprivation--are more significant determinants of variations in value orientations than being a Negro or of Mexican descent. In our judgement, this interpretations is questionable in that findings from other studies, including those of metropolitan youth, support some of ours (Antonovsky, 1967; Stephenson, 1957).

It is apparent that our rural respondents, of all ethnic types, indicate strong inclinations for vertical mobility: their aspirations and expectations exceed by far the achieved statuses of their parents. Relative to class position of family of origin, the Negro and Mexican American minority groups generally have higher inter-generational mobility orientations than the dominant Anglo group. Put in simpler terms, the youth from ethnic minorities demonstrate higher level aspirations and expectations, relative to their starting positions, than the Anglos. This observation has obvious implications for predicting probable ethnic differentials in the occurrence of anomie, psychological and social frustration, and points to a fruitful area for much future research.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ethnic identification refers to membership in an "ethnic group". An ethnic group is a social category of people who conceive of themselves as having common ancestry which differentiates them from others in a society or community and are so regarded by others. For a detailed discussion of ethnicity and its significance for stratification, see Shibutani and Kwan (1965:38-55).

2. Institutionalized ethnic minorities approximate caste-like strata in many cases where informal and formal norms place a ceiling on vertical mobility and control quality of relationships between the ethnic minority and the dominant group.

3. Taken together Negroes and Mexican Americans accounted for approximately one fourth of the Texas population in 1960. It should be pointed out that Texas is unique in including large numbers of both of these ethnic minorities, because of its geographical location and great size, it spans both the "South" and "Southwest" regions of our country. Shibutani and Kwan, in giving examples of regional ethnic minorities, state "...in the Southwest Mexicans are singled out for differential treatment; and in the South being a Negro is an overriding consideration in determining status to a far greater extent than is true elsewhere in the country." (1965:33).

4. Two articles by Rodman (1963) and Rosen (1959) support the contention that class and ethnic differences exist and also provide good summaries of the literature in this regard. Pertaining specifically to Mexican Americans, Ozzie Simmons (1961) argues that this minority is acculturated in terms of the material aspects of the larger culture but not in reference to values.

5. See, among others, Hughes (1965:1135), Broom and Glenn (1965:182-183), Dyckman (1966:802-803), and Gordon (1961).

6. Merton (1957:171) in his theory of "social structure and anomie" makes the suggestion that research could be "usefully directed toward studying the intensity" of aspirations. An empirical application of this idea has been made in a study by Leonard Riesman (1953).

7. Yinger uses Stephenson's proposition about the difference in variability between aspirations and expectations to support his notion that a lower class "contraculture" exists (Yinger, 1960).

8. A study of a number of ethnic groups by Rosen--including Negroes but not Mexican Americans--produced evidence indicating that ethnic differences exist in occupational and educational aspiration levels even when class (SES) is controlled (1959).

9. Earlier studies providing information on Negro-White rates of anticipatory deflection were reported by Drabick (1963) and Stephenson (1957).

10. We attempted to be conservative in establishing these level classes by placing managerial and skilled worker in the "Intermediate" level. It should be recognized, however, that attainment of such jobs would represent definite upward mobility for most of our respondents, relative to their fathers' occupations.

11. Again we have been conservative in establishing our level categories. It should be apparent that for most of our respondents attainment of the "Intermediate" level would represent a marked improvement over the parents' educational attainments.

12. An example of positive deflection from an occupational goal would be a youth desiring to be a carpenter but anticipating becoming a school teacher. An example of negative deflection from an educational goal would be a youth desiring to graduate from college but expecting to really terminate his formal education with graduation from high school.

13. We decided to control on sex status because our previous investigations have indicated that significant differences by sex exist in relation to some status projection elements (Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, 1968; Wright and Kuvlesky, 1968).

14. The rates of anticipatory deflection we observed are very similar to that (37 percent) observed in a much earlier study reported by Slocum of, presumably, white youth from the state of Washington. On the other hand, the rate observed here is much lower than that (about 50 percent) found for Negro and white youth, of both sexes, in North Carolina. The higher rate of deflection noted in the latter study might be accounted for by the techniques used to measure deflection. Nunalee and Drabick used classes of North-Hatt scores while Slocum and we used qualitative categories (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968:149).

15. For a review of the relevant evidence pertaining to Negro youth, see the article by Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky (1968) and for evidence pertaining to Mexican American youth see the review provided in the paper by Juarez and Kuvlesky (1968).

16. This evidence is in contradiction to Simmons' (1961) proposition that the Mexican American minority has not become acculturated in reference to the values of the broader culture. In all fairness, it should be indicated that the acculturation of Mexican Americans in reference to success values may be a fairly recent phenomena.

17. Some possible reasons for this subtle pattern of differences between the Mexican American and Negro minority group might lie in the following attributes of the Mexican American's situation: the language barrier between him and the dominant group--and for that matter the Negro--obviously may result in his using different channels of communication; there's also the fact that, relative to educational projections, no special set of ethnically segregated schools have evolved to serve his specific needs as is true with the Negro in the south; and it may well be that because of difficulties involved in the language barrier, he is more relunctant to participate in geographical mobility to further his achievement goals.

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## APPENDIX A: RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1. Main Breadwinner's Job in Respondents' Households by Ethnicity.

| Job | MA (537) | | Anglo (272) | | Negro (185) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | | Percent | | Percent | |
| Unemployed | 4 | | 4 | | 13 | |
| Unskilled Laborer | 31 | (47) | 13 | (26) | 43 | (72) |
| Operatives | 12 | | 9 | | 16 | |
| Skilled Blue Collar | 18 | | 29 | | 7 | |
| Clerical and Sales | 10 | | 6 | | 3 | |
| Farm Owner or Manager | 6 | | 14 | | 13 | |
| Professional, Managerial | 19 | | 25 | | 5 | |
| TOTAL | 100 | | 100 | | 100 | |
| No Information | 59 | | 13 | | 12 | |

$x^2 = 149.04$ d.f. = 12 $P < .001$

Table 2. Education of Father by Ethnicity.

| Father's Education | MA (597) | Anglo (276) | Negro (197) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | Percent | Percent |
| No information* | 25 | 11 | 30 |
| Did not go to school | 14 | 3 | 2 |
| Grade 1-7 | 27 | 15 | 15 |
| Eighth grade | 8 | 11 | 8 |
| Some high school | 9 | 20 | 25 |
| High school graduate | 9 | 21 | 12 |
| Vocational school after high school | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| Some college | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| College graduate | 4 | 8 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No information | 0 | 11 | 0 |

$x^2 = 155.40$ d.f. = 16 $P < .001$

*In all probability the fathers of respondents indicating no information did not complete high school.

Table 3. Education of Mother by Ethnicity.

| Mother's Education | MA (597) | Anglo (276) | Negro (197) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | | |
| No information* | 19 | 6 | 19 |
| Did not go to school | 8 | 2 | 0 |
| Grade 1-7 | 33 | 10 | 10 |
| Eighth grade | 11 | 9 | 14 |
| Some high school | 11 | 21 | 30 |
| High school graduate | 10 | 32 | 15 |
| Vocational school after high school | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| Some college | 2 | 7 | 4 |
| College graduate | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No information | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| $x^2 = 223.06$ | | d.f. = 16 | $P < .001$ |

*In all probability the mothers of respondents indicating no information did not complete high school.

Table 4. Employment Status of Mother by Ethnicity.

| Employment Status | MA (556) | Anglo (276) | Negro (192) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Percent | | |
| Full-time | 14 | 27 | 29 |
| Part-time | 16 | 13 | 24 |
| Looking for work | 6 | 2 | 11 |
| Does not work | 62 | 57 | 32 |
| Has no mother | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No information | 40 | 11 | 5 |
| $x^2 = 82.44$ | | d.f. = 8 | $P < .001$ |

Table 5. Marital Status of Parents by Ethnicity.

| Marital Status | MA (595) | Anglo (275) | Negro (195) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ----------Percent---------- | | |
| Both Alive, Living Together | 83 | 85 | 67 |
| Both Alive, Separated | 2 | 3 | 14 |
| Both Alive, Divorced | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Father Not Living | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| Mother Not Living | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| Neither Father Nor Mother Living | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 12 | 2 |
| $x^2 = 67.23$ | | d.f. = 10 | $P < .001$ |

Table 6. Sibling Location of Respondents by Ethnicity.

| Location | MA (595) | Anglo (276) | Negro (194) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | ----------Percent---------- | | |
| Youngest Child | 19 | 30 | 15 |
| Oldest Child | 24 | 31 | 18 |
| Neither Youngest nor Oldest Child | 54 | 32 | 66 |
| Only Child | 3 | 7 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 11 | 3 |
| $x^2 = 64.33$ | | d.f. = 8 | $P < .001$ |

APPENDIX B:

RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS*

Occupational Projections

9. If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: [ ]

10. (A) Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!).

ANSWER: [ ]

(B) How certain are you that this is the job you will have most of your life? (Circle one number):

| I am: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very Certain | Certain | Not Very Certain | Uncertain | Very Uncertain |

* The stimulus questions on status projections provided here were taken from the questionnaire used in East Texas; however, the questions used in interviewing Mexican Americans were in all cases almost identical.

Intensity of Occupational and Educational Aspirations

27. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

_____To have lost of free time to do what I want.

_____To get all the education I want.

_____To earn as much money as I can.

_____To get the job I want most.

_____To live in the kind of place I like best.

_____To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.

_____To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

Educational Orientations

13. If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

14. (A) What do you <u>really</u> expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number):

1 Quit school right now.
2 Complete high school.
3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
5 Graduate from a college or university.
6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

(B) How certain are you that you will really achieve the education <u>you expect</u>? (Circle only one number):

| I am: | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Very Certain | Certain | Not Very Certain | Uncertain | Very Uncertain |

<u>Sex, Race, Ethnicity</u>

2. Sex (Circle one number): 1 Male 2 Female

6. What is your race? (Circle one number):

1 White 2 Negro 3 Oriental 4 Indian 5 Other

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry? (Circle one number):

1 Yes 2 No

## APPENDIX B: ORIGINAL MEASUREMENT CATEGORIES

Table 1 . Original Responses on Occupational Aspirations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex.

| | Occupational Level | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | MA (279) | Anglo (149) | Negro (97) | MA (300) | Anglo (132) | Negro (98) |
| | | Percent | | | | | |
| 1. | High Professional | 13 | 11 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 9 |
| 2. | Low Professional | 35 | 30 | 26 | 51 | 38 | 41 |
| 3. | Glamour | 6 | 10 | 16 | 6 | 10 | 10 |
| 4. | Managerial | 8 | 15 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 5. | Clerical-Sales | 9 | 3 | 10 | 29 | 26 | 22 |
| 6. | Skilled | 20 | 23 | 11 | 7 | 17 | 11 |
| 7. | Operative | 4 | 7 | 18 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. | Unskilled | 5 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| 9. | Housewife | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| | TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| | No Information | 11 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 1 |

[1] $x^2 = 55.72^*$ d.f. = 14 $P > .001$

[2] $x^2 = 26.61^*$ d.f. = 12 $P > .001 < .01$

*The housewife category was dropped for chi square computations for males and females and the "operative" and "unskilled" categories were combined for females.

Table 2 . Original Responses on Occupational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Occupational Level | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (279) | Anglo (148) | Negro (96) | MA (306) | Anglo (134) | Negro (99) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| 1. High Professional | 6 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Low Professional | 31 | 25 | 26 | 31 | 30 | 40 |
| 3. Glamour | 3 | 7 | 15 | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| 4. Managerial | 12 | 23 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 5. Clerical-Sales | 11 | 2 | 6 | 41 | 23 | 21 |
| 6. Skilled | 24 | 22 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 16 |
| 7. Operative | 6 | 13 | 24 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 8. Unskilled | 7 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 9. Housewife | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 27 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| No Information | 11 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 76.59$ d.f. = 14 $P > .001$

[2] $x^2 = 57.89$* d.f. = 14 $P > .001$

*The "Operative" and "Unskilled" categories were combined in computing the chi square value.

Table 3. Original Responses on Educational Aspirations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex.

| | Educational Level | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | MA (288) | Anglo (143) | Negro (96) | MA (305) | Anglo (131) | Negro (99) |
| | | Percent | | | | | |
| 1. | Graduate Study | 21 | 17 | 39 | 21 | 14 | 26 |
| 2. | College Graduate | 32 | 42 | 25 | 30 | 24 | 22 |
| 3. | Junior College Graduate | 9 | 9 | 7 | 16 | 9 | 3 |
| 4. | HS Graduate + Vocational Training | 19 | 18 | 23 | 12 | 46 | 46 |
| 5. | HS Graduate | 19 | 10 | 1 | 21 | 6 | 2 |
| 6. | Quit HS | 0 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | No Information | 2 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 48.85$ d.f. = 10 $P < .001$

[2] $x^2 = 104.38$ d.f. = 10 $P < .001$

Table 4. Original Responses on Educational Expectations of Youth by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Educational Level | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (289) | Anglo (143) | Negro (96) | MA (305) | Anglo (131) | Negro (99) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| 1. Graduate Study | 9 | 7 | 22 | 8 | 8 | 26 |
| 2. College Graduate | 30 | 42 | 41 | 29 | 21 | 20 |
| 3. Junior College Graduate | 11 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 8 | 2 |
| 4. HS Graduate + Vocational Training | 19 | 25 | 23 | 17 | 50 | 43 |
| 5. HS Graduate | 31 | 16 | 1 | 31 | 12 | 4 |
| 6. Quit HS | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 68.25$ d.f. = 10 $P < .001$

[2] $x^2 = 124.83$ d.f. = 10 $P < .001$

## APPENDIX C: ANALYSIS TABLES

Table 1 . Level of Occupational Aspiration by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Level of Occupational Aspiration | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (279) | Anglo (149) | Negro (97) | MA (300) | Anglo (132) | Negro (98) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| High | 54 | 51 | 49 | 60 | 53 | 60 |
| Intermediate | 37 | 41 | 26 | 37 | 45 | 35 |
| Low | 9 | 8 | 25 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| No Information | 11 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 1 |

[1] $x^2 = 23.18$ d.f. = 4 $P < .001$

[2] $x^2 = 3.28$ d.f. = 4 $P > .50 < .70$

Table 2. Level of Educational Aspiration by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Educational Level | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (288) | Anglo (143) | Negro (96) | MA (305) | Anglo (131) | Negro (99) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| 1. High | 53 | 59 | 64 | 51 | 38 | 48 |
| 2. Intermediate | 28 | 27 | 30 | 28 | 55 | 49 |
| 3. Low | 19 | 14 | 6 | 21 | 7 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 2 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 |

$^{1}x^{2} = 9.83$ d.f. = 4 $P > .02 < .05$

$^{2}x^{2} = 47.38$ d.f. = 4 $P < .001$

Table 3 . Level of Occupational Expectation by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Level of Occupational Expectation | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (279) | Anglo (148) | Negro (96) | MA (300) | Anglo (132) | Negro (99) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| High | 40 | 38 | 47 | 36 | 36 | 49 |
| Intermediate | 47 | 47 | 24 | 50 | 34 | 41 |
| Low | 13 | 15 | 29 | 14 | 30 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| No Information | 11 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 12.75$ d.f. = 4 $P > .01 < .02$

[2] $x^2 = 29.14$ d.f. = 4 $P > .001$

Table 4. Level of Educational Expectation by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Level of Educational Expectation | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (289) | Anglo (140) | Negro (90) | MA (305) | Anglo (130) | Negro (94) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| 1. High | 39 | 49 | 63 | 37 | 29 | 46 |
| 2. Intermediate | 30 | 32 | 30 | 31 | 58 | 45 |
| 3. Low | 31 | 19 | 7 | 32 | 13 | 9 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 0 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 5 |

[1] $x^2 = 27.75$ d.f. = 4 $P < .001$

[2] $x^2 = 47.90$ d.f. = 4 $P < .001$

Table 5 . Nature of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Goals by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Nature of Deflection | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (279) | Anglo (148) | Negro (95) | MA (300) | Anglo (131) | Negro (98) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| None | 62 | 71 | 67 | 62 | 59 | 72 |
| Positive | 9 | 8 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 7 |
| Negative | 29 | 21 | 19 | 32 | 37 | 20 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 |
| No Information | 11 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 1 |

[1] $x^2 = 5.97$ d.f. = 4 $P > .20 < .30$

[2] $x^2 = 8.03$ d.f. = 4 $P > .05 < .10$

Table 6. Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Goals by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Nature of Deflection | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (288) | Anglo (143) | Negro (96) | MA (304) | Anglo (131) | Negro (99) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| None | 60 | 73 | 65 | 63 | 77 | 58 |
| Positive | 9 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 17 |
| Negative | 31 | 23 | 24 | 32 | 22 | 25 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 2 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 10.01$ d.f. = 4 $P > .02 < .05$

[2] $x^2 = 34.01$ d.f. = 4 $P < .001$

Table 7 . Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Goals by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Deflection | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| Positive | | | | | | |
| +1 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| +2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| +3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| +4 | 2 | - | 3 | 1 | 1 | - |
| +5 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| +6 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Negative | | | | | | |
| -1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| -2 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 | - |
| -3 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 13 | 12 | 4 |
| -4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 5 |
| -5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| -6 | 3 | - | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| -7 | - | 1 | - | 5 | 7 | 1 |
| -8 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |

Table 8. Degree of Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Goals by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Nature and Degree of Deflection | Males | | | Females | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | Anglo | Negro | MA | Anglo | Negro |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Positive | | | | | | |
| +1 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |
| +2 | 2 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 3 |
| +3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| +4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| +5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Negative | | | | | | |
| -1 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 15 | 13 | 11 |
| -2 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 6 | 7 |
| -3 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 |
| -4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| -5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 9 . Intensity of Occupational Aspiration by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Intensity of Aspiration | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (288) | Anglo (153) | Negro (98) | MA (305) | Anglo (131) | Negro (98) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Strong | 69 | 56 | 34 | 72 | 45 | 46 |
| Intermediate | 29 | 37 | 55 | 24 | 47 | 48 |
| Weak | 2 | 7 | 11 | 4 | 8 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 1 |

[1] $x^2 = 42.46$ d.f. = 4 $P > .001$

[2] $x^2 = 39.47$ d.f. = 4 $P > .001$

Table 10. Intensity of Educational Aspiration by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Intensity of Aspiration | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (288) | Anglo (143) | Negro (95) | MA (306) | Anglo (131) | Negro (97) |
| | ----------Percent---------- | | | | | |
| Strong | 85 | 69 | 80 | 89 | 81 | 79 |
| Intermediate | 10 | 20 | 16 | 8 | 13 | 15 |
| Weak | 5 | 11 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 2 | 10 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 2 |

[1] $x^2 = 16.50$ d.f. = 4 $P < .01$

[2] $x^2 = 8.95$ d.f. = 4 $P > .05 < .10$

Table 11. Certainty of Occupational Expectation by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Certainty of Occupational Expectation | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (279) | Anglo (150) | Negro (95) | MA (297) | Anglo (133) | Negro (99) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Very Certain | 10 | 15 | 14 | 7 | 18 | 20 |
| Certain | 26 | 33 | 30 | 25 | 34 | 36 |
| Not Very Certain | 54 | 29 | 52 | 58 | 33 | 36 |
| Uncertain | 7 | 18 | 3 | 8 | 14 | 5 |
| Very Uncertain | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 11 | 3 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 0 |

[1] $x^2 = 45.71$* d.f. = 6 P > .001

[2] $x^2 = 39.03$* d.f. = 6 P > .001

*The "Uncertain" and "Very Uncertain" categories were combined in conputing the chi square values.

Table 12. Certainty of Educational Expectation by Ethnicity and Sex.

| Certainty of Educational Expectation | Males[1] | | | Females[2] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA (289) | Anglo (143) | Negro (96) | MA (304) | Anglo (131) | Negro (98) |
| | Percent | | | | | |
| Very Certain | 10 | 16 | 19 | 13 | 30 | 22 |
| Certain | 39 | 46 | 45 | 37 | 33 | 45 |
| Not Very Certain | 46 | 32 | 31 | 45 | 36 | 30 |
| Uncertain | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |

$^{1}x^{2} = 12.31$ d.f. = 6 $P > .05 < .10$

$^{2}x^{2} = 24.85$ d.f. = 6 $P < .001$